

# **ROBERT GOLDWIN PAPERS, 1973-78**

## **Collection Type**

Federal Records

## **Extent**

12 linear feet (ca. 24,000 pages)

## **Record Type**

Textual

## **Access**

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## **Processed by**

Leesa Tobin, November 1992; Revised by Brooke Clement, January 2005

## **Biography**

Robert A. Goldwin

April 16, 1922 - Born in New York City

1942-46 - Enlisted man and officer, US Cavalry

1950 - B.A., St. John's College, Annapolis, MD

1951-60 - Director of Research, American Foundation for Political Education, Chicago, IL

1954 - M.A., The University of Chicago, Chicago, IL

1960-66 - Lecturer in Political Science and Director, Public Affairs Conference, The University of Chicago, Chicago, IL

1963 - Ph.D., Political Science, The University of Chicago, Chicago, IL

1966 - Fellow, Guggenheim Foundation

1966-69 - Associate Professor Political Science and Director, Public Affairs Conference Center, Kenyon College, Gambier, OH

1969-73 - Dean and Richard Hammond Elliott Tutor, St John's College, Annapolis, MD

March 1973-December 1974 - Special Advisor to the Ambassador of the United States Mission to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Donald Rumsfeld, Brussels, Belgium

September 1974 - Detailed to the White House Editorial Staff from the Department of State

December 1974-October 1976 - Special Consultant to the President

1976 - Special Assistant to the Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld

1977-2004 - Director of Seminar Programs, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, Washington, DC

2003-- Advisory Council Member for the James Madison Book Award

### **Scope and Content Note**

Robert Goldwin, a former professor of political science and director of public affairs conferences at the University of Chicago and Kenyon College, served in the White House as Special Consultant to the President. Before assuming that position, Goldwin was an assistant to Donald Rumsfeld, Ambassador to NATO. When Rumsfeld took over from Alexander Haig as Ford's chief of staff, Goldwin assisted him at the White House until November 1975, when Rumsfeld became Secretary of Defense. Goldwin then reported to Richard Cheney, Rumsfeld's former deputy and successor. In addition to his White House duties, Goldwin continued to work with Secretary Rumsfeld on occasional projects and speeches.

Goldwin described his White House role as being "an outsider on the inside" and "an idea collector." He was responsible for insuring the flow of information and ideas to the President from people outside of government. His most well-publicized activity was as the organizer of a series of White House seminars attended by the President, government officials, and academic experts. The seminars were held as informal discussions of the 1975 State of the Union address, crime, affirmative action, ethnicity, unemployment, and the world food situation.

Seminars were but one aspect of Goldwin's liaison with the academic community. He traveled frequently to university campuses for seminars and speaking engagements, relaying ideas and suggestions to the Domestic Council, appropriate government agencies, or occasionally, to the President. In addition, he was always on the lookout for qualified people for presidential appointments and was especially involved in the selection of the Librarian of Congress and the chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities. Goldwin was also a point of contact within the administration for many organizations concerned with higher education, the arts, the humanities, and a variety of issues affecting the Jewish community in the United States.

Occasionally, Dr. Goldwin prepared or edited drafts of major presidential speeches, including the State of the Union addresses in 1975 and 1976, and a major policy address on crime in April 1975. He also suggested themes for the nation's Bicentennial celebration and proposed a statement of national vision for the President to articulate in anticipation of the 1976 presidential campaign.

The Goldwin Papers provide a unique perspective for researchers interested in how ideas outside government can influence the thinking of a president and his staff. The collection includes scholarly articles, notes from White House seminars, and correspondence with prominent thinkers nationwide. In some cases, a researcher can track an idea from its genesis in a journal article or White House seminar to eventual inclusion in a presidential speech or statement.

While most of the collection documents Goldwin's various responsibilities as a special consultant to the President, there are also materials reflecting his work for Donald Rumsfeld during Rumsfeld's tenure as Ambassador to NATO and Secretary of Defense. These include speech drafts, information compiled to prepare Rumsfeld for his confirmation hearings as Secretary of Defense, and a lengthy memorandum outlining Rumsfeld's position on arms sales.

An accretion of papers received in 2004 comprises the last two boxes of the collection. These papers include subject files relating to Ford's decision to reorganize his Cabinet and White House staff, commonly known as "The Halloween Massacre," as well as Goldwin's memos, notes, research, and presidential speech preparation on topics such as crime, higher education, moderate Republicanism, and détente. A significant portion of this accretion is made up of presidential speech files, consisting of drafts, press releases, memos, and handwritten notes on themes ranging from crime, the 1976 presidential campaign, veto power, civil rights, and education.

#### Related Materials (January 2005)

The Goldwin Files in the White House Operations Office include two additional feet of material generated during Goldwin's White House tenure. Much of this file concerns his liaison role with various education organizations, his drafts for several presidential speeches, and documents his extensive contact with prominent Americans on a variety of domestic issues. Other related material includes the Domestic Council staff files of David Lissy on education and Jewish affairs and

Sarah Massengale on cultural affairs; the White House Central Files category for education (ED); the files of the speechwriting and editorial staffs for various presidential addresses, including the reading copies of Presidential Speeches and Statements, as well as the White House Central Files category for speeches (SP). A small, related collection of Goldwin papers is at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

### **Last Modified Date**

2024-04-09

### **General Subject File, 1973-77.**

(Boxes 1-20, 8.0 linear feet)

Correspondence, memoranda, notes, reports, briefing papers, speeches, and printed material accumulated by Goldwin in his role as a special advisor to NATO Ambassador Donald Rumsfeld and special consultant to the President. Subjects include education, Jews and Israel, affirmative action, arms sales, busing, the role of the president, national vision, crime, the world food situation, State of the Union addresses, ethnicity, and jobs and unemployment. Of particular note are files on White House seminars and Goldwin's work on behalf of Donald Rumsfeld during his tenure as Secretary of Defense.

Arranged alphabetically by subject and chronologically thereunder.

#### **Box 1 - General Subject File**

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Academy for Contemporary Problems
OPEN	Aging
OPEN	American Council on Education - Report on International Education (1)-(2)
OPEN	Arab Boycott (1)-(5)

#### **Box 2 - General Subject File**

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Arms Sales
OPEN	Arts
OPEN	Asia Foundation (1)-(5)

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Balance of Payments
OPEN	Brown, General George S. - Comments on Jews
OPEN	Civic Education (1)-(3)

**Box 3 - General Subject File**

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Clemency
OPEN	Committee for an Effective UNESCO
OPEN	Department of Defense
OPEN	Discrimination in Colleges and Universities (1)-(3)
OPEN	Drugs
OPEN	Economics
OPEN	Federal Budget
OPEN	Florida International University
OPEN	Foreign Diplomats Luncheon, 3/20/75
OPEN	Harvard College - Board of Overseers
OPEN	Goldwin, Robert - Article - Western Political Quarterly, 3/76 (1)-(3)

**Box 4 - General Subject File**

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Goldwin, Robert - Interviews/Lectures
OPEN	Goldwin, Robert - Speeches - New College, 2/2/75 (1)-(3)
OPEN	Goldwin, Robert - Speeches - Northern Illinois University, 4/28/75
OPEN	Goldwin, Robert - Speeches - Maryland Independent Colleges and Universities Association, 1/29/76 (1)-(3)
OPEN	Goldwin, Robert - Speeches - Kenyon College, 2/4/76 (1)- (2)

**Box 5 - General Subject File**

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Goldwin, Robert - Speeches - St. John's College, 2/20/76 (1)-(4)

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Goldwin, Robert - Speeches - University of Nebraska, 5/5/76 (1)-(3)
OPEN	Goldwin, Robert - Speeches - Council for the Advancement of Small Colleges, 6/17/76
OPEN	Goldwin, Robert - Speeches - Smithsonian Institution, 9/16/76
OPEN	Goldwin, Robert - Trips - Berlin, 3/22-26/75 (1)-(2)

**Box 6 - General Subject File**

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Goldwin, Robert - Trips - Berlin, 3/22-26/75 (3)
OPEN	Goldwin, Robert - Trips - Gambier, Ohio, 5/23/76
OPEN	Higher Education Issues (1)-(6)

**Box 7 - General Subject File**

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Jewish Issues (1)-(8)

**Box 8 - General Subject File**

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Jewish Issues (9)
OPEN	Job Creation (1)-(2)
OPEN	Kenyon College - Public Affairs Conference Center (1)-(3)
OPEN	Library of Congress
OPEN	Medicine (1)-(5)
OPEN	Mental Health

**Box 9 - General Subject File**

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Name Bank - Recommendations
OPEN	Name Bank - Resumes (1)-(2)
OPEN	National Conference on Soviet Jewry (1)-(2)
OPEN	National Endowment for the Arts (1)-3)
OPEN	National Endowment for the Humanities (1)-(3)

**Box 10 - General Subject File**

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	National Endowment for the Humanities (4)-(5)
OPEN	National Gallery of Art
OPEN	National Humanities Faculty
OPEN	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OPEN	Office of Science and Technology Policy
OPEN	Oil Crisis
OPEN	Panama Canal
OPEN	President - Articles - Saturday Evening Post, 5/76
OPEN	President - Articles - U.S. News and World Report, 7/5/76 (1)-(2)
OPEN	President - Briefing Book Input

### **Box 11 - General Subject File**

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	President - Campaign (1)-(3)
OPEN	President - National Vision (1)-(2)
OPEN	President - Role of the Executive (1)-(2)
OPEN	President - Schedule Proposals
OPEN	President - School Desegregation (1)-(2)

### **Box 12 - General Subject File**

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	President - School Desegregation (3)-(4)
OPEN	President - Speech Ideas
OPEN	President - Speech Ideas - Bicentennial
OPEN	President - Speeches - State of the Union, 1975 - Background (1)-(2)
OPEN	President - Speeches - State of the Union, 1975 - 1/6/75 Draft (1)-(2)
OPEN	President - Speeches - State of the Union, 1975 - 1/6/75 Draft - President's Comments
OPEN	President - Speeches - State of the Union, 1975 - 1/7/75 Draft



<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	President - Speeches - State of the Union, 1975 - 1/9/75 Draft (1)-(3)

**Box 13 - General Subject File**

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	President - Speeches - State of the Union, 1975 - 1/9/75 Draft - President's Comments
OPEN	President - Speeches - State of the Union, 1975 - 1/10/75 Draft
OPEN	President - Speeches - State of the Union, 1975 - 1/11/75 Draft
OPEN	President - Speeches - State of the Union, 1975 -Undated Drafts
OPEN	President - Speeches - State of the Union, 1975 - Follow-up (1)-(3)
OPEN	President - Speeches - State of the Union, 1975 - Reading Copy
OPEN	President - Speeches - Yale Law School, 4/25/75 (1)-(3)

**Box 14 - General Subject File**

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	President - Speeches - Yale Law School (4)
OPEN	President - Speeches - Uranium Enrichment, 6/25/75
OPEN	President - Speeches - State of the Union, 1976 - 1/15/76 Draft (1)-(3)
OPEN	President - Speeches - State of the Union, 1976 - 1/16/76 Draft
OPEN	President - Speeches - State of the Union, 1976 - 1/17/76 Draft
OPEN	President - Speeches - State of the Union, 1976 - 1/18/76 Draft
OPEN	President - Speeches - State of the Union, 1976 - Follow-up
OPEN	President - Speeches - Daughters of the American Revolution, 4/21/76

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	President - Speeches - American Jewish Committee, 5/13/76
OPEN	President - Speech Writing Process
OPEN	President - Veto
OPEN	Presidential Appointments
OPEN	Princeton Conference - Advising the President, 10/13/75
OPEN	Rand Corporation
OPEN	Regulating Reform

**Box 15 - General Subject File**

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Rumsfeld, Donald - Confirmation Hearings as Secretary of Defense, 11/75
OPEN	Rumsfeld, Donald - Memoranda (1)-(3)
OPEN	Rumsfeld, Donald - Questions and Answers on Arms Sales
OPEN	Rumsfeld, Donald - Speeches - Atlantic Institute, 6/2/73 (1)-(3)
OPEN	Rumsfeld, Donald - Speeches - Reuters Editors, 3/10/76

**Box 16 - General Subject File**

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Rumsfeld, Donald - Speeches - North Atlantic Council, ca. 3/76
OPEN	Rumsfeld, Donald - Speeches - "The New Charter" (undelivered) (1)-(4)
OPEN	Sangamon State University
OPEN	St. John's College
OPEN	Smith Richardson Foundation
OPEN	Smithsonian Institution (1)-(2)
OPEN	Social Security

**Box 17 - General Subject File**

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	South Africa

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Soviet Jews
OPEN	Speeches - Unused Ideas
OPEN	Strategic Arms Limitations Talks (SALT)
OPEN	Student Aid for Higher Education (1)-(2)
OPEN	Syrian Jews
OPEN	Taxes (1)-(2)
OPEN	Thailand
OPEN	Trade
OPEN	Transportation
OPEN	Turkey
OPEN	UCLA Associated Students Speakers Program
OPEN	Unemployment (1)-(2)

**Box 18 - General Subject File**

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	United Jewish Appeal
OPEN	United Nations (1)-(2)
OPEN	United Nations Association
OPEN	Vietnam War
OPEN	War Powers Act
OPEN	Welfare Reform
OPEN	White House Fellows
OPEN	White House Handbook, 10/75 (1)-(2)
OPEN	White House Handbook, 4/76 (1)-(3)

**Box 19 - General Subject File**

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	White House Organization
OPEN	White House Seminars - General
OPEN	White House Seminars - State of the Union Themes, 12/9/74
OPEN	White House Seminars - State of the Union, 1/11/75
OPEN	White House Seminars - Open Discussion, 2/22/75

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	White House Seminars - World Food Situation, 4/12/75
OPEN	White House Seminars - Affirmative Action, 9/10/75
OPEN	White House Seminars - Ethnicity, 9/27/75
OPEN	White House Seminars - Jobs and Unemployment, 11/22/75 (1)-(2)
OPEN	White House Seminars - Topic Ideas
OPEN	White House Staff - Biographies
OPEN	White House Transportation Agency
OPEN	Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars (1)-(3)

### **Box 20 - General Subject File**

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars (4)-(9)
OPEN	Women
OPEN	Zionist Organization of America

### **Name File, 1974-76.**

(Boxes 21-28, 3.2 linear feet)

Correspondence and reference material compiled by Goldwin from his contacts with White House staff, academic colleagues, the media, prominent intellectuals, and the public. Documents issues similar to the above series. Correspondence with some of these individuals also appears in the general subject file.

Arranged alphabetically.

### **Box 21 - Name File**

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Anderson, Jack
OPEN	Barzun, Jacques
OPEN	Banfield, Edward
OPEN	Bell, Terrel
OPEN	Brann, Eva
OPEN	Bazelon, David
OPEN	Billington, James

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Boorstin, Daniel
OPEN	Brandow, George
OPEN	Breslow, Lester
OPEN	Brown, Peter
OPEN	Burger, Warren
OPEN	Burke, Edmund
OPEN	Burns, Arthur
OPEN	Califano, Joseph

**Box 22 - Name File**

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Carter, Jimmy
OPEN	Cheney, Richard (1)-(3)
OPEN	Cochrane, Willard
OPEN	Coleman, James
OPEN	Connor, James
OPEN	Cropsey, Joseph
OPEN	Diamond, Martin (1)-(3)

**Box 23 - Name File**

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Emmert, Kirk
OPEN	Farrell, Joseph
OPEN	Feldsten, Martin (1)-(4)
OPEN	Fisher, Max
OPEN	Ford, Betty
OPEN	Friedman, Milton
OPEN	Garment, Leonard
OPEN	Ginsburg, David
OPEN	Glazer, Nathan
OPEN	Goldman, Eric
OPEN	Greenspan, Alan
OPEN	Harlow, Bryce

**Box 24 - Name File**

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Harris and Yankelovich Survey
OPEN	Hartmann, Robert
OPEN	Hathaway, Dale E.
OPEN	Heffner, Richard
OPEN	Hersey, John
OPEN	Hesburgh, Rev. Theodore
OPEN	Higham, John
OPEN	Himmelfarb, Gertrude
OPEN	Hodgkinson, Harold
OPEN	Horwitz, Robert
OPEN	Jackson, Henry M.
OPEN	Jaffa, Harry
OPEN	Jefferson, Thomas
OPEN	Johnson, Gale (1)-(2)
OPEN	Jones, Jerry
OPEN	Kahn, Herman

**Box 25 - Name File**

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Kass, Leon
OPEN	King, John
OPEN	Kissinger, Henry (1)-(3)
OPEN	Kottman, Roy
OPEN	Kraft, Joseph
OPEN	Kristol, Irving (1)-(2)
OPEN	Leibman, Morris
OPEN	Levi, Edward
OPEN	Licht, Robert
OPEN	Lincoln, Abraham
OPEN	Lissy, David
OPEN	Locke, John

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Lynn, Jim
<b>Box 26 - Name File</b>	
<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Marcus, Phillip
OPEN	Marsh, John
OPEN	Mathews, David
OPEN	Merrill, Philip
OPEN	Meyerson, Martin
OPEN	Moynihan, Daniel (1)-(2)
OPEN	Nader, Ralph
OPEN	Nelson, Charles
OPEN	Nie, Norman
OPEN	Neldorf, Robert
OPEN	Nisbet, Robert
OPEN	Novak, Michael
OPEN	Novak, Robert
OPEN	O'Neill, Paul
OPEN	Patterson, Orlando

**Box 27 - Name File**

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Paynter, John
OPEN	Pelzman, Sam
OPEN	Percy, Charles
OPEN	Plattner, Marc
OPEN	Podhoretz, Norman
OPEN	Price, Jayne
OPEN	Raoul-Duval, Michael
OPEN	Reagan, Ronald
OPEN	Reston, James
OPEN	Riesman, David
OPEN	Ripley, S. Dillon

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Robson, John
OPEN	Rockefeller, Nelson
OPEN	Salk, Jonas
OPEN	Schlesinger, James
OPEN	Scowcroft, Brent
OPEN	Semerad, Roger
OPEN	Smith, Carleton
OPEN	Sowell, Thomas (1)-(2)
OPEN	Spaeth, Robert
OPEN	Spiro, Herbert
OPEN	Stevenson, Adlai

**Box 28 - Name File**

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Storing, Herbert
OPEN	Strauss, Leo
OPEN	Theis, Paul
OPEN	Thompson, Daniel
OPEN	Todorovich
OPEN	Wakefield, Rowan
OPEN	Warren, Gerald
OPEN	Wattenberg, Ben
OPEN	Weaver, John
OPEN	Wildavsky, Aaron
OPEN	Wilson, James Q.
OPEN	Wilson, Woodrow
OPEN	Wouk, Herman
OPEN	Zarb, Frank

**General Subject File Accretion, 1974-78.**

(Boxes 28-30, 0.8 linear feet)

Correspondence, memoranda, notes, reports, briefing papers, speeches, and



printed material accrued by Goldwin in his role as a special consultant to the President. Noticeably larger subject matters include crime, higher education, veto power, and the aftermath of President Ford's massive overhaul of his Cabinet.

Arranged alphabetically by subject and chronologically thereunder.

**Box 28 (Continued) - General Subject File Accretion**

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Cabinet Reorganization, 11/3/1975
OPEN	Council of Social Advisers
OPEN	Crime (1)-(2)

**Box 29 - General Subject File Accretion**

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Crime (3)-(4)
OPEN	Goldwin, Robert - Lecture - "Outsider on the Inside"
OPEN	Goldwin, Robert - Memos to the President
OPEN	Goldwin, Robert - Resignation from Government
OPEN	Goldwin, Robert - Trips - Columbus and Chicago, 3/16-19/75
OPEN	Goldwin, Robert - White House Personnel Information
OPEN	Higher Education (Bell Project)
OPEN	Moderate Republicanism/Public Image (Jim Connor Project)
OPEN	Notes on "Détente"
OPEN	President - Interview - Pepperdine University, 11/11/1975
OPEN	President - Letter - Reply to Gov. M. Thompson - 2/14/76 Draft
OPEN	President - Letters to Robert Goldwin
OPEN	President - "Meet the Press", 11/9/1975
OPEN	President - Schedules
OPEN	President - Speech Ideas
OPEN	President - Speeches - Message to the Congress on Legislative Priorities - 11/8/1974 Press

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Release - Speeches - Address to the Nation on Energy and Economic Programs - 1/13/1975
OPEN	Follow-up - Speeches - Notre Dame Academic Council, 3/17/1975

**Box 30 - General Subject File Accretion**

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	President - Speeches - Boston's Old North Church Bicentennial Lantern Service, 4/18/1975
OPEN	President - Speeches - 73rd Annual Convention of the Navy League - 4/23/75 Draft
OPEN	President - Speeches - Tulane University, 4/23/75
OPEN	President - Speeches - Message on Crime, 6/19/75
OPEN	President - Speeches - Statement on the Observance of Independence Day, 1975 - Draft
OPEN	President - Speeches - Statement on the Observance of Independence Day, 1975 - Press
OPEN	Release - Speeches - School Integration, 7-9/75
OPEN	Release - Speeches - NAACP, 7/1/75
OPEN	Release - Speeches - American Legion, 8/19/75
OPEN	Release - Speeches - Dedication of Firestone Fieldhouse at Pepperdine University - 9/20/75
OPEN	Draft - Speeches - National Press Club - 10/29/75 Follow-up
OPEN	Draft - Speeches - North Carolina Central University - 11/14/75 Draft
OPEN	Draft - Speeches - Remarks at the East-West Center/University of Hawaii, 12/7/75
OPEN	Draft - Speeches - Symposium on the American Presidency - 200 Years Later - 1/9/76
OPEN	Draft - Speeches - State of the Union, 1976 - 1/19/76 Fact Sheet
OPEN	Draft - Speeches - State of the Union, 1976 - 1/19/76 Press Release

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Draft - Speeches - Lincoln Memorial, 2/12/76
OPEN	Draft - Speeches - Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents, 6/14/76
OPEN	Draft - Speeches - Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents, 6/21/76
OPEN	Draft - Statement, 11/5/74
OPEN	Transferred to AV